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FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LAW.

We have extracted from a recent number of the *New York Tribune*, the following incident of slave-life, which is of itself sufficient to exculpate Mrs. H. B. Stowe from the charge of her having presented, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, an exaggerated picture of American slavery as it is. The correspondent of the above journal dates his narrative from Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 3rd September ultimo. He says:

“A most disgraceful and brutal occurrence took place here this morning, which I shall take the liberty of communicating to you, thinking it probable no other person here may take the trouble. Being an eyewitness, I have given nothing but what you may rely upon as facts.

“About 7 o'clock this morning an attempt was made by a person calling himself ‘Deputy Marshal Wynkoop’ (a brother to Colonel Wynkoop), another, answering to the name of ‘Joe Jenkins,’ and three other assistants from Virginia, to arrest as a fugitive slave a coloured waiter in the dining-room of the Phoenix Hotel in this place. Immediately after receiving their breakfasts at the hands of ‘Bill,’ the unsuspecting fugitive, who is a tall, noble-looking, remarkably intelligent and active mulatto, nearly white, they suddenly from behind knocked him down with a mace, and partially shackled him; but, by a desperate effort, and after a most severe struggle, with the whole five upon him, he shook them off, and with the aid of his handcuffs, which were only fast upon his right wrist, he inflicted some hard

wounds on the countenances of some of the Southerners, the marks of which they will probably carry to their graves. But, notwithstanding the fearful odds against him, he managed to break from their grasp, and, with the loss of everything upon him but a part of his shirt, and covered with blood, he rushed from the house, and plunged in the river close by, exclaiming, ‘I will be drowned rather than taken alive.’ His pursuers fired twice at him on his way to the river without checking his speed, and, on reaching the bank, they presented their large revolvers, and called on the fugitive, who stood up to his neck in the water, to ‘come out and surrender himself, or they would blow his brains out.’ He replied, ‘I will die first.’ They then deliberately fired at him four or five different times; the last ball is supposed to have struck on his head, for his face was instantly covered with blood, and the poor fellow sprang and shrieked out in agony, and no doubt would have sunk but for the buoyancy of the water holding him up. The people around, who had by this time collected in large numbers, were becoming excited, and could no longer refrain from crying out ‘Shame, shame!’ which had the effect of causing the Southerners to retire a short distance, in evident consultation. The slave, not seeing his pursuers, came to the shore; but not being able to support himself in the water, he laid down on the edge, completely exhausted, became senseless, and was supposed to be dying; on hearing which the slave-catchers remarked coolly that ‘Dead niggers were not worth taking South.’ Some one shortly brought a pair of pantaloons and put

on the fugitive, who, in a few minutes, unexpectedly revived, and was walking off from the river, partly held up by another coloured man, named Rex, on seeing which his pursuers again headed him, drew and presented their revolvers, and called upon him to stop, threatening to shoot any one who assisted the fugitive. The white friends of Rex instantly shouted, 'Stand away! Stand away, Rex! You'll get shot, too!' This was bad advice, as they would not have dared to shoot at that time, and it had the effect of encouraging the pirates, who kept advancing towards the fugitive, and at the same time intimidated Rex, who drew back, exclaiming to the slave, 'Put, Bill, to the water again; don't be taken alive!' The poor fellow, seeing himself alone, for there was a general drawback on the revolvers being presented, turned and plunged into the river again, where he remained upwards of an hour, with nothing above water but his head, covered with blood, and in full view of the hundreds who lined the high banks. His claimants durst not follow him into the water, for, as he afterwards remarked, 'He would have died contented could he have carried two or three of them down with him.' In the meantime some of the citizens, thinking there was no law justifying such barbarity, were taking means to have the kidnappers arrested. Judge Collins, one of our most respected citizens, and several others, questioned them as to their names and authority; to which they replied, 'he was more like a lunatic than a judge,' &c. They soon, however, saw the sentiment of the community was strong against them, and drove off before an officer could be found to arrest them. A telegraphic despatch to the constable in Hazleton caused their detention there; but he was overawed by several pompous United States' officers, and they were allowed to go again. After their departure, the fugitive, afraid to come out there again, waded some distance up the stream and got out above, and was found by some coloured women flat on his face in a cornfield. The women carried him off to a place of safety, dressed his wounds, and at night he will be far on his way to Canada.

"Such are the plain, unvarnished facts. You cannot overstate the barbarity of the scene, the excitement of the people, or the ferocity of the slave-catchers; but, having recently felt the rigours of the Fugitive Slave Law here, there was a general fear of the officers, who bullied and browbeat any one who ventured to speak above his breath, exclaiming occasionally, 'Gentlemen, you can have him for 1,000 dollars! but we are United States' officers; resist us at your peril.'

"We felt ashamed of our country, and almost longed to be in Austria or Russia, where human rights are more respected.

"Nothing in Mrs. Stowe's work equalled the brutality displayed by this Pennsylvania Marshal and the Virginia slave-hunters. Had some bold spirit led the way, the citizens would have demolished them on the spot. As it is, the result has been good. The blood-thirsty villains were baffled—the 'property' escaped (though, probably, a cripple for life, if, indeed, he should live, for he was quite light-headed during the day), and there has been more anti-slavery feeling excited, and more hatred to the Fugitive Slave Law aroused, than could have been done with years of lectures or addresses."

The *Times* of the 22nd ultimo, commenting on the above atrocity, admits that it appears "not to be out-done by any which Mrs. Beecher Stowe has incorporated in her work:" a tribute to the truthfulness of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, somewhat remarkable—though tardy, from a paper which, as this distinguished authoress has herself said, "was the first journal that contained anything in print against her book, but which had no sooner published its article than it was reprinted in America in the form of a tract, and circulated widely throughout the country." We append the closing paragraph of the leader to which we have referred above:

"Such is a specimen of proceedings under the Fugitive Slave Law, when they are not conducted with gentlemanly propriety, and according to the forms of well-bred courts. Who shall venture to say that the ruffians who fired on the poor creature in the water—and it makes one's blood run cold merely to think of so horrible an act—were not acting as strictly in the discharge of their duty as that most excellent judge, Mr. McLean, when he pronounced his sentence? Such tools as these murderers are always forthcoming in the dregs of every large society, and the owners of fugitive slaves will ever find them ready to their hands. If the fugitive resists or attempts to escape, what are they to do? What would an English officer of justice do, if a burglar were attempting to escape from his clutches? In the eye of American law, the fugitive slave is as much a criminal as the burglar is in ours,—and what is the officer to do? Nature and humanity answer, 'Perish a thousand times rather than fire on a man who is attempting to recover his liberty;' but the rough instruments—the Tom Lokers—employed by the slave-owners will deal with the case in a very different spirit."

The same number of the *New York Tribune* contains the following interesting particulars relative to the underground railroad, given under the hand of another correspondent, who dates from *Columbus*, 1st September last.

"In a former communication I referred to the 'underground railroads' passing through this State from the Ohio River to Lake Erie. Many of these have been in successful opera-

tion for several years. Occasionally, as the routes have become known, they have been changed, but at all times have been kept in operation; the trains run upon them generally in the night; the stations are about ten miles distant from each other, and as soon as one is reached a new conductor carries on the fugitive to the next, and thus he is taken through the State a distance of more than 200 miles with great speed and safety. Arrived on the shore of Lake Erie, there is no difficulty in passing him to Canada during the season of navigation.

"The sailors upon the lakes, black and white, always sympathise with the victim of oppression, and are generally ready to afford him a safe and a free passage to Canada. If the fugitive arrive on the lake shore in the season of the year when there is no navigation, he generally remains in some one of the Western Reserve counties, until the boat commences running in the spring.

"The anti-slavery sentiment has been such there for years that no fugitive has been taken thence back into slavery. Sometimes the number which collects in a winter is quite large. They generally arm themselves, and are sworn to die in defence of each other. Indeed, a large proportion of the fugitives who now escape carry a bowie knife and revolver. I once knew thirty of these fugitives come forth from their hiding-places, armed with guns and rifles, to protect a brother fugitive. The slave-hunter was glad to escape without his victim. This summer two fugitives, a man and his wife, passed through this State, both of them armed with a knife and revolver, travelling in the daytime, defying danger, refusing assistance only as they paid for it, as they would not involve any one in the penalties of the fugitive law, and declaring they would take the life of any one who should attempt to arrest them. In this way they went safely through the State.

"In the applause with which the representation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* upon the stage in New York has been received, we have an illustration of the sympathies of the masses for the oppressed. This sympathy with them is almost universal. Our teamsters, engineers, conductors, and breaksmen upon our railroads, captains and all hands on our lake steamboats, are all actuated by it. Many a fugitive passes through the State concealed in railroad cars, and with the connivance of those engaged in running the trains. Not long since a trembling negro besought a conductor to let him get upon the train. 'Have you any money?' asked he. 'No, massa, but I must go.' The conductor saw at once he was a fugitive, his heart was touched, and soon the poor victim of oppression was stowed away in one corner of the baggage car, and was rolling on his way to Canada. At a depôt, some sixty miles dis-

tant, a well-dressed Kentuckian got upon the train, and asked the conductor if he had a negro, describing the fugitive among his passengers. He was told to examine for himself, and on went the train, with both master and fugitive on board. When told that the master was on board, the poor slave gave up all hope—he was the picture of despair; but was soon encouraged by the conductor, who assured him that, if he would follow his directions, he would effect his escape.

"He then told him, as soon as the train should slack up at the next depôt, to jump off, and run behind a small building close by, and remain there until he heard the whistle for the cars to start; that he should then run with all his might for the woods. The negro followed the directions; as soon as the cars stopped he concealed himself behind the house, unperceived by the master, and when the signal for starting was given he drew a 'bee-line' for the woods. On went the train for its destination, and on went the negro for Canada. The conductor, standing by the master, pointed out the fugitive, and asked him if that was not his slave?

"'Yes, Sir,' he replied; 'stop, stop the train!' The conductor assured him it could not be stopped—they were already behind time, &c. 'But,' said he, 'it must be stopped; I'll give you a hundred dollars to stop it;' but the conductor was inflexible. The master then went to the engineer, and offered a large amount if he would let him off; but the engineer understood the game, and on went the cars with increased speed, at the rate of forty miles the hour, to the next depôt, some thirty miles distant, all hands enjoying the torment of the slaveholder.

"Not long since two respectable ladies, walking out in the evening, were suddenly confronted by a negro. With trembling he asked them how he could cross to Canada? They perceived he was a fugitive, persuaded him to their father's house, and fed him, and went that night and procured him a passage. How shall we stifle these feelings of humanity? We know the Union will be dissolved if we do not do it. But, how is it to be done? By what law? By what penalties? To preserve our institutions, there must be some way discovered of rooting humanity out of the hearts of the masses, and hardening the hearts of our women. The Fugitive Slave Law, with all its penalties, fails of effecting it. This subject is commended at this time to the attention of 'Northern doughfaces,' that they may be prepared to act wisely at the next dissolution panic. Some new project may raise their price in the political market.

"Perhaps personal chastisement, inflicted on such American women as sympathise with

the oppressed, would be beneficial. Austrian generals whipped women naked through the streets of Hungary, because they loved freedom and aided the down-trodden; and why should not the tools of oppressors in this land adopt the same measure? The whipping of women naked in this country would be nothing new; it is practised daily in one-half of the Union. Surely, men who would catch fugitive slaves need feel no repugnance to whipping white women who, in violation of the compromise, would help them away."

MRS. H. B. STOWE.

The talented authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has quitted our shores. Her departure was quite unexpected, and took place under circumstances much to be lamented. She intended remaining some weeks longer, but having received intelligence of the illness of one of her daughters, she was compelled to hurry home, and to forego numerous public engagements, in various parts of the United Kingdom, which pressed upon her. It is satisfactory to know that her health, which had been so much impaired by the severity of her recent literary efforts, was greatly improved by her continental trip, but especially by her sojourn in Switzerland. Her stay in Paris was brief, and during her sojourn there, she was the guest of Mrs. M. W. Chapman. On her return to London, she remained a few days at the house of Mr. Sampson Low, her publisher, and left the metropolis almost before the fact of her arrival in it from her continental tour transpired.

Having accepted an invitation from the *Leeds Anti-slavery Society*, to receive an Address and a Testimonial, Mrs. Stowe became the guest of Edward Baines, Esq., of Headingley. It had been originally proposed to present these at a public meeting, but a more private one was ultimately determined upon, in consequence of the circumstances in which Mrs. Stowe was placed. These are best explained by the following letter, which, though private, has since been published:—

"London, August 29th, 1853.

"DEAR SIR,—I received intelligence from my family this week, with regard to the health of one of my daughters and other domestic matters, which makes me feel that I must return without delay. This cuts me off from six weeks, which I had intended to devote in England to travelling and visits of friendship.

"I sail from Liverpool on Wednesday, September 7th.

"I shall pass through Leeds, and hope to have at least a day to rest there.

"I am very deeply touched by the affectionate interest with which I have been there remembered by friends whose faces I have never seen.

"It will be most cheering for me to meet such friends, but as I am in haste, in some anxiety of mind, and just in the hurry of passage, a private

social friendly interview would be altogether more agreeable to my feelings than a public meeting. If it could be in the *day time*, instead of the evening, it would be a great saving to my health. I have steadily avoided all evening company since I left America, as I find it always costs me a night's sleep,—and a night's sleep is to me quite a loss.

"My health is much better than it was, but I have still no strength to spare. I shall be in Leeds the latter part of this week—probably on Saturday or Friday evening,—you will be informed more particularly which. I hope that there will be no publicity about my arrival.

"Thanking you for your very kind note,

"I remain, in great haste, truly yours,

"Edwd. Baines, Esq. "H. B. STOWE."

In accordance with Mrs. Stowe's wish, invitations to attend a meeting to be held at Mr. Baines' house, on Saturday the 3rd ultimo, at one in the day, were sent out to a large number of the friends of the cause. The company included the Mayor of Leeds and his lady; Sir George Goodman, M.P., Mr. Wilson Armistead, and a considerable muster of influential ladies and gentlemen, members of the *Leeds Anti-slavery Association*, and persons who had taken an active part in promoting the Stowe testimonial.

The Testimonial, consisting of a highly ornamental silver basket, containing one hundred sovereigns, was placed upon a table.

After the introduction of Mrs. Stowe, her sister-in-law Mrs. George Beecher, and her brother the Rev. C. Beecher, to the company, the Mayor, John Hope Shaw, Esq., commenced the formal business of the evening by the delivery of the following very appropriate remarks. He said:

"He could assure them he felt highly honoured, as well as highly gratified, in attending on that occasion; and he was sure it was equally gratifying to the ladies, and he might add, to the gentlemen of Leeds, now assembled together, to have the privilege of presenting their testimonial of respect and admiration to one who had so nobly undertaken to advocate, and who, by the devotion of her excellent talents, had given such a stimulus to, the sacred cause of humanity. But Mrs. Stowe had another claim to their regard and admiration. He referred to that most interesting narrative or fiction she had written, which by its power and pathos had deeply impressed, and he trusted had also greatly improved, the hearts of its readers, who might now be reckoned by millions, and who would cheerfully award to her, praise of the same kind which they were willing to award to a Scott or a Dickens. But she had a much higher claim to their respect and admiration, for in the form of a fictitious narrative she had presented to the civilized world a picture which no one who read the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and could appreciate the force of evidence there collected, could doubt to be a picture of sad realities, instead of imagination and fiction, and therefore a true picture of the sad condition of the slave. That such would be the condition of persons placed at the absolute dia-

posal of another, was a fact which none of them who would calmly reflect on their own position could for a moment doubt: for who among them did not occasionally feel a hasty, momentary irritation, at what they considered neglect on the part of those who depended upon them, and which, perhaps, caused nothing but a dissatisfied look or a peevish word, forgotten as soon as uttered? But to what extravagances might they not be tempted, if they were entrusted with the awfully irresponsible power of absolute despotism? That such a power should exist; that human beings should be transferred, by regular purchase and sale, into the hands of the most depraved and profligate, as easily as into the hands of the benevolent: that such a state of things should exist, was itself a proof that all the practices of barbarity placed before them in the narrative or fiction of Mrs. Stowe, were but too likely to have happened, and the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* afforded proof that such things really happened at present. That such a state of things could exist, except amongst barbarous tribes: that it could be transplanted to, and take root in, a Christian country, was what they could hardly credit, if they were not, unfortunately, by their past history, compelled to believe it; and if they had not proof before their eyes that it did exist in some portions of the United States of America. The great practical question for them to consider was that which was prefixed, he thought, to the concluding chapter of the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, viz., 'What is to be done?' That was a question of grave difficulty. One thing must be done. The system of slavery was to be altogether extinguished—it was to be extinguished as soon as possible, consistently with the safety both of the master and the slave; but it was one of the penalties which a nation as well as an individual had to pay for a long continuance in wrong, that the steps towards right were painful, and they must not shut their eyes to the fact, that the transition from a state of slavery anywhere, and not less so in the United States, was one which required the utmost care and circumspection. He had no fear that a true picture of the condition of the slave would have the effect which had been sometimes apprehended from it, that of leading to too precipitate measures for the abolition of slavery. The danger was, that the progress of abolition would not be too rapid, but too slow; and in order that it should keep pace with the requirements and condition of the slave, it was necessary that their feelings as well as their judgments should be enlightened, and they should be made to understand that every year they allowed to pass with this great evil unredressed was a year of crime. But were they then to pursue their object by declamation and invective against the slave-holder? By no means, for that would tend to defeat instead of to promote the objects they had in view; and it was one of the great features of Mrs. Stowe's work, that whilst holding out a true picture of the condition of the slave, she did full justice to the humane slave-holder; and humane slave-holders there were, who from long familiarity with the system, and from living in the midst of it, had not realized its evils. Nothing, therefore, should be done which in any reasonable mind could excite feelings of resentment. He was aware that such feelings had

been excited, and he had read the productions in which vent was given to such sentiments, but he felt sure that no one could rise from their perusal, without being convinced of the poverty-stricken nature of the arguments employed. In the work of Mrs. Stowe, they had a true picture of the condition of the slave; but they had also exhibited to them the portraiture of such characters as Mr. and Mrs. Shelby, and of St. Clare, which taught them that they should not condemn all slave-holders, but that they should condemn the system which admits of such barbarities as were portrayed in that excellent work. Mrs. Stowe was about to return to her country, whose literature she had honoured by her immortal work; she was about to return, as he trusted, to fan into greater ardour the sacred spark which that work had lighted: and let them hope that the day was not far distant when the posterity of those who left this country for the sake of their civil and religious liberties, would no longer withhold the sacred rights of freedom from their fellow-countrymen."

Mr. WILSON ARMISTEAD, President of the *Leeds Anti-slavery Association*, and author of some valuable works and tracts, then came forward, and, addressing Mrs. Stowe, said he felt it not only a pleasure but an honour to have to present an address from the *Leeds Anti-slavery Association* to the noble advocate of the slave whom they had met to welcome among them. The sentiments expressed in the address would, he doubted not, meet with the approbation not only of those present on this interesting occasion, but of many thousands of their absent friends who would have united in the feeling, could they have been present to participate in the privilege Mr. Baines' guests had enjoyed. Mr. Armistead then read the address, of which the following is a copy:—

"To Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

"DEAR MADAM,—The Leeds Anti-slavery Association hail with warm and deep feeling the visit to this town of so powerful an advocate as yourself of their righteous cause. Desirous at once to cheer you on in the glorious work to which you have devoted your pen, and to quicken their own zeal and that of their fellow-townsmen by personal communion with you, they had hoped to meet you in the presence of thousands who would have flocked to show their grateful and admiring sympathy with the authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and its invaluable 'Key.' Being denied this gratification, owing to the state of your own health, and that of a member of your family, which hastens your departure from England, they prize the opportunity of expressing in this more private way the gratitude they feel for the inestimable services you have rendered to the cause of human freedom.

"It is their duty to assure you of their entire concurrence in the great principles which you have maintained in your admirable works. Not only have the vivid and truthful pictures which you have drawn of slavery wrung the hearts of millions of readers, but your appeals to the judgment and conscience have met with a response so loud as to sound like the voice of God.

Translated into every European language, your work has struck a chord which vibrates throughout the civilised world. Human nature has every where started up to vindicate its rights, outraged by the crime of slavery.

"We think it right to declare our conviction, that in all your representations of slavery you have kept within the sacred limits of truth. Patriotism has prevented you from exaggerating the evil which philanthropy compelled you to unfold. Indeed the truest patriotism called for appeals to your countrymen to extirpate the cancer that is spreading towards the vitals of their confederation.

"Claiming to participate with you in sincere regard for our transatlantic brethren, whether free or in bonds, we glow with you in hope for their future, and blush with you in humiliation for the past and the present. We trust your countrymen will believe that the English people cherish a true fraternal feeling for the whole American people; and on this very ground they feel that their duty is the same as yours, to protest in the most solemn and earnest manner against an institution which degrades communities as well as individuals, and the slave-holder as well as the slave. So long as a man is held as a chattel, so long as laws exist which deny every right and inflict or screen every wrong, so long must the wrong-doers draw upon themselves the indignant reproaches of mankind. Their honour is stained; they themselves are exposed to an ever increasing danger.

"It is true the efforts made in your country to bring about the abolition of slavery produce alarm and resentment, which for the time may seem to throw back the cause, and to confirm the system they conduce to overthrow. Such is the common lot of all reforms. We cannot therefore wonder that the blow which slavery has received from your unequalled exposures, should have been followed by a recoil. But we believe that God will sustain His servants in the high warfare to which they are called, and that in the end He will crown them with victory.

"To you, Madam, whom a Divine impulse, acting on the heart of the Christian woman and mother, has placed in the foremost rank among the opponents of slavery, we offer the assurance of our affectionate sympathy. In returning to your native land, take with you to the field of duty or of suffering, the aspirations which British Christians will breathe for your success. May your health be confirmed, and all domestic happiness attend you! May you be carried safely across the waters! And when embarked again on the rougher sea of American controversy, and toiling, perhaps in darkness and danger, against the waves of prejudice and wrong, may He who walked upon the waters to give aid to His disciples, enter your bark, and steer it in safety through the storm!"

The Mayor having handed the address to Mrs. Stowe, who rose to receive it, his Worship next called upon

Sir GEORGE GOODMAN, M.P., who, addressing Mrs. Stowe, said, he had now to undertake the gratifying duty, which he also felt to be a very high honour, of presenting to her, on behalf of the ladies of Leeds, a

testimonial of their respect and admiration. According to the resolution of the meeting of the "Stowe Testimonial" sub-committee, held at the house of Mr. Thomas Harvey, August 8th, 1853, he was solicited to mention, that he had been requested by the ladies who had taken an active interest in the testimonial, to present it to Mrs. H. B. Stowe "in the name of the grateful inhabitants of Leeds, who are indebted to her for a common point of interest which has united all ages, classes, and parties in a manner unprecedented in the history of the town." The inscription on the basket containing the testimonial, which he had also been requested to read aloud, was as follows:—

"Presented by a few Ladies to
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,
The friend of the Slave."

[This was followed by the Leeds Arms.]

"The readers of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' place £100 in this basket as an offering of gratitude.
Leeds, Sept. 3rd, 1853.

"'The Lord bless thee and keep thee.'—Numbers vi. 24.

"'The Lord grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel.'—Psalm xx. 4."

Sir George Goodman continued—

"He felt exceedingly gratified in being selected to present this testimonial to a lady of such distinguished talent and worth, and one whom they were all proud to see amongst them. He was sure they all felt the full force of what their excellent Chief Magistrate had said, and they also approved of the sentiments contained in the address presented by Mr. Armistead. They could not but remember that the people of the United States were a people who had gone out from this, the mother country, and had with us many things in common. With regard to the scientific discoveries of America, it was well known to them all that the inventive faculties of the people there were very great; they were in the possession of much civil freedom, and enjoyed Christian institutions like our own, and the only regret to be felt was, that the stain of slavery still rested upon them; however great and glorious they might be in skill, in enterprise, and in privileges, still the stain of slavery existed, which nothing but its entire abolition could wipe out. The same stain once rested on this country from whence they had gone, but we had, at an expense of twenty millions, abolished slavery, and he hoped that in this matter the people of the United States would soon see it to be their duty to follow our example. He had no doubt that those present would agree with him that the able work of Mrs. Stowe, which had been so appropriately commented upon by their Chief Magistrate, and which contained descriptions of the condition of the slave which were calculated to harrow up all the best feelings of the human heart, would produce a powerful effect, and be productive of great good even amongst those who now held the slave to be a mere chattel—the slave-holders of the United

States. With these views, he had great pleasure in presenting the testimonial basket, which bore the inscription he had read, and contained one hundred sovereigns, which he hoped Mrs. Stowe would accept."

The testimonial having been received by Mrs. Stowe,

The Rev. CHARLES BRECHER, on behalf of his sister, read the following reply:—

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—The last few months have been among the most interesting of my life. In these few months the imaginings and dreams of many years have become present realities; countries and people, once dim visions, have become near. My heart has found not only the silent beauty of art, but the warm glow of friendship and affection, in lands once foreign, but to me foreign no more.

"It was with a thrill of feeling that I first set foot on the shore of England—land of our fathers—land of our language, of our history, laws, and literature, whose poets have so thoroughly embalmed and consecrated it, that each new object seemed to me well known and familiar. The green ivy and holly, the crimson daisy, the primrose, the 'hedgerow-elms,' the historic ruins, were all what I had read of from infancy; so that, even had there been none to welcome me, I should have felt as if coming back to a home. But the homes of England and of Scotland—that succession of bright, warm, secluded nooks and dells of social love and peace, which have so freely opened themselves to me—these, these are never to be forgotten, nor can those dear friends which are encircled by them.

"Now I am going; and to the last I find myself surrounded by kindness, leaving England, as I found it, amid the tender cares of friends only too kind.

"Of the sympathy which has been shown here in this country with the generous cause of freedom, I cannot think without emotion. Every friend of the cause in America has felt it. It has often been said that the expression of England's feeling does more harm than good. It will be time enough to think of this, when the objection comes from the friends of the cause in America. So long as it is urged loudest and with most force by those who are giving their whole influence in support of slavery, it is not very alarming. The friends of the cause in America *know when they are helped*, and they know that the public sentiment of England does help them.

"I have confidence in my country. We are, after all, a great and generous people; we can afford to have our faults told, that we may mend them. Slavery is not a part of us—we do not desire it—and we shall yet be free from it. England has her excrescences too, the growth of past ages; and as she never makes any outcry at their being criticised by us, we see that she is labouring in all good faith and honesty to make every thing right at home, and therefore we take no offence at her friendly freedom with us.

"Nothing is more evident to the sojourner in England than this, that no order of men or things is here considered too sacred and immaculate for free inquiry and discussion. Every thing here, however consecrated by rank, or station, or antiquity, is given up to the freest public handling

and the most rigorous inquiry; and it does not become us, who profess to be the most progressive nation on earth, to shield any of our institutions behind the barrier of privileged silence, and require all mankind to take them on trust.

"I have visited in my pilgrimage the home of Clarkson. I passed a night in the chamber that for years was consecrated by his prayers, and from whence he ascended to heaven. There I reflected how the great cause of emancipation once looked as impossible and hopeless in England as it does now in America; how Clarkson nearly lost his life in a public tumult in Liverpool; and yet *that* victory has been gained: faith, and prayer, and labour triumphed in England, and I trust shall triumph yet in America.

"It has, I fear, been said by some, that I have given to this cause time, health, and strength, that ought rather to have been given to my family; that a wife and mother should confine her thoughts and efforts to her own circle.

"Of this I have thought most seriously, for I am conscious that I have truly given life-blood which I needed in the care and education of my children.

"But, during the dreadful ravages of the cholera in Cincinnati, and when nine thousand were buried in three months, I went out to a neighbouring cottage, and found a mother lying alone helpless in her bed, and a sick baby by her side. I thought, is it not my duty to nurse this sick child? It occurred to me then, that I had but little strength, that if I spent that, the destroyer might at any moment enter my own circle, and then who would nurse my children? Was that a selfish thought? Nevertheless, God helping me, I took the poor baby home, and we nursed it under my roof; it died there, and we buried it: in one week more my own darling, before so healthy, sickened of the same disease, and went the same way to the grave, and the destroyer passed through my family.

"But I did not lament that work of mercy, even though it had brought sorrow to me and mine. So is it in this cause. A wife myself, I have spoken for other wives;—a mother, for other mothers:—and if it shall prove at last that I have thus spent strength and life that my children wanted, then may God remember them, as I have remembered the children of the poor slave!

"Let me thank these dear friends, whose generosity and kindness has thus shown itself to me in the moment of my departure. Never will the memory of these friends in England and Scotland be effaced from my heart; and among those many memorials of kindness which will adorn my quiet home, none will be more pleasant than this from the friends in Leeds."

The reading of this reply was listened to with profound interest and emotion, which found their expression not in loud applause, but in tears.

The Mayor then called upon the Reverend Wm. Guest to address the company. He said:

"He could have wished, for the sake of that distinguished company, that he had earlier received an intimation that he would be expected to offer a few remarks. There was one aspect of

'Uncle Tom's Cabin' which had not been adverted to, and perhaps could not very well be, though they all felt it there—that was, the decided Christian tone which pervaded it; the beautiful exhibition of the Gospel in that book, and the strange contrast between the dignity which Christianity shed on 'Uncle Tom,' and the deep villany of a system which held him in bonds. But he was anxious to enlist the sympathies of that company on behalf of the movement which had begun in Leeds, and which had sprung out of the feeling created by reading 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It was certainly true that Leeds had always felt deeply on the question of slavery, and, if he was not mistaken, Yorkshire moved earliest in the agitation for obtaining the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. He alluded especially to the time when Henry, now Lord Brougham, was returned for Yorkshire, and to the interest which Leeds had taken in the question. Now, again, they had felt it right to endeavour to form an *Anti-Slavery Association*, their object being mainly to circulate information. They all knew that a large number of Americans came to this country, and also that a large number of our own countrymen go to America; and it pained them to think that our countrymen who went out abolitionists, did not always continue so, and that the Americans who came here did not always hear such decided expressions of opinion against slavery as it was desirable they should do. What, therefore, they wished to do was to permeate as much as possible society around them with anti-slavery sentiments. The Association requested a subscription of 2s. 6d., and those who subscribed that sum became entitled to a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, while those who subscribed 5s. might receive a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* if they preferred it. In this way they sought to circulate information on the subject. They had hoped, if Mrs. Stowe could have remained in Leeds, to have had a public inauguration of their Society, but that was not now possible so far as Mrs. Stowe was concerned. The Leeds Society was not affiliated with any other, but felt sympathy with them in their movements; although the Americans objected to the interference of this country, there were considerations that gave to English society an advantage in their judgment of slavery. They did not grow familiar with it by continual contact; it was not unusual for parties who live among certain evils to grow indifferent to them. He felt, moreover, that American slavery countenanced all the slavery in the world—all the slavery in South Africa, in Spain, and in Portugal. In this country, therefore, they felt themselves called upon, for the sake of the millions in bonds, to convey a strong protest against a crime which they felt to be directly opposed to the Word of God, and to the whole aspect of humanity in this the latter half of the 19th century. He hoped, then, that this gathering would help the Leeds Association, the claims of which would hereafter be more fully presented before the public. He could only repeat that he felt they were greatly indebted to Mrs. Stowe and to her brother for coming amongst them that day."

A vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Baines, for their kindness in inviting the company

to the interesting ceremonial of that day, having been proposed by Mr. Joseph Lupton, and put to the guests by the Mayor, Mr. Baines returned thanks on behalf of himself and Mrs. Baines. He said:

"They thanked them all very sincerely for their presence there. They took it as the highest pleasure and the greatest honour to have Mrs. Stowe as their guest, and thanked her for coming to be with them even for a few hours. They also thanked the Mayor and all the company for making their house the place in which they presented their Anti-Slavery address, and their testimonial to Mrs. Stowe; they felt that their house had in some sort been consecrated by such a ceremony as that which had taken place. He had heard with extreme satisfaction what had been so well said by the Mayor, and the other gentlemen who had addressed them; but especially had he listened with pleasure to the answer of Mrs. Stowe, which showed that amidst all the feelings which curdled round her heart, she did not despair of her cause. He believed the effect of the blow she had struck at slavery at home, and the encouragement given to the friends of abolition, had been increased by her visit to this country. They could not look at any great anomaly in our moral, social, intellectual, and religious nature, without feeling justified in the confidence, that it did but need to take it and hold it up as that of slavery had been held up in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' to raise an amount of opposition to it which would go on increasing until the crime was obliterated, and the stain purged out. At least they had seen so many triumphs in this country, that his faith was still unshaken; believing, as he did, that with the power of Christianity, the power of the press, the power of public opinion, and that public opinion concentrated, and flashing like streams of lightning from shore to shore, it was impossible in a land so splendid as that of America, for deeds of darkness long to continue to exist, especially after the exposure of Mrs. Stowe. He felt that Mrs. Stowe had conferred an unmeasurable benefit on mankind by the work she had published; and they would feel a lively interest in whatever other work her health might admit of her undertaking. He might say that the feeling of the Anti-Slavery committee had been exceedingly strong in favour of this testimonial of their admiration and gratitude being presented in the presence of their assembled townsmen; but when they found that this could not be done consistently with Mrs. Stowe's state of health, they felt it to be their duty in this more private manner to offer the testimony of their regard. He believed they on this side of the broad Atlantic would feel it to be their greatest pleasure to co-operate with Mrs. Stowe, with that highly distinguished and numerous family to which she belongs, and with that illustrious band of abolitionists on the other side, in bringing to an end this system of slavery; and they would do this with the most friendly feeling towards the United States. Indeed, they felt themselves to be one with them, and he delighted to look upon their common literature, their common Christianity, and to look upon them and ourselves as forming but one community. Whenever, therefore, Mrs. Stowe might favour them

with any communication, he was sure it would be held precious by the Anti-Slavery Society of Leeds; and they would all feel it to be their duty, year by year, to signify to her in some way what might be calculated to cheer her on, and would endeavour to promote the object she had in view by all the moral means in their power."

Thanks were then voted to the Mayor and to Sir George Goodman for their services on the occasion, and these gentlemen having acknowledged the compliment, the company dispersed.

A correspondent has kindly furnished us with the subjoined brief report of the presentation of another Testimonial to Mrs. Stowe, from the *Dublin Anti-slavery Society*. It is to be observed, however, that as many provincial towns, north and south, had, in the anticipation of a visit from Mrs. Stowe, resolved on making each its own presentation, the amount of the Dublin tribute is not to be regarded as a national one, though some country localities contributed to it. We append the report:

"The Committee on the Anti-slavery Tribute to H. B. Stowe, feel it due to those who have been engaged in its collection, to inform them of the manner of its presentation, and the reasons which necessitated this being of a private nature.

"Information was received, on the 3rd instant, that owing to family reasons, Mrs. Stowe had been obliged to relinquish her former intention of visiting Ireland, and that she was about to return to America, having concluded to sail on the 7th instant. The Committee met without loss of time and appointed a deputation, which consisted of one of the Trustees to the fund, and the two Secretaries, to wait on her in Liverpool and present her with the Testimonial, amounting to one hundred and twenty sovereigns, which were enclosed in a bog-oak box, carved with national emblems, and accompanied by an address to the talented authoress.

"On reaching Liverpool, the deputation proceeded to Dingle Bank, the seat of John Cropper, Esq., where they had the pleasure of being introduced to H. B. Stowe, and of placing the Tribute in her hands.

"She was evidently gratified, both with the gift and the mode of its transmission, and expressed her warm thanks to the contributors for this manifestation of kindly feeling and interest in the cause to which she has devoted herself, and her regret in not being able at this time to visit Ireland. Letters from America, containing intelligence of sudden death in her family circle, the continued illness of one of her children, and the prevalence of fever in New York, where many of her friends reside, compelled her return home at this time. These touching circumstances, some of them made known to H. B. Stowe while the deputation waited, led them to suggest a postponement of her written acknowledgments till after her arrival in America. This proposal seemed agreeable to her, but she remarked that she wished to avail herself of the present opportunity to express verbally how much satisfaction she felt in observing, from the statement in the

address, that the *Dublin Anti-slavery Society* had turned its attention to spreading information among emigrants previous to their leaving home. Such efforts she characterised as a most important anti-slavery work, decidedly the most so of any that could be prosecuted in our land. H. B. Stowe requested particularly to have the emblematical carving on the bog-oak box explained: the lamp, the shamrocks, the wolf-dog and wreath of oak leaves, each attracted her notice.

"MARIA WEBB,
"MARY EDMUNDSON, } Secretaries."

Address to Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe.

"DEAR MADAM,—We who constitute the Committee of Dublin ladies that have originated the accompanying token, expressive of Irish sympathy with your anti-slavery efforts, as exhibited in the pages of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' respectfully request your acceptance of this nationally carved Irish bog-oak box and its golden contents.

"The enclosed printed circular will explain the ideas of the Committee from which it issued.

"Whilst we deplore, and have long deplored the baleful influence shed upon that glorious section of the earth, America, by the enormous sin of slaveholding, and whilst we have beheld with dismay the apparent deepening of this sin, as developed in the Fugitive Slave Law of the United States, we can yet thankfully rejoice in the belief that the world-wide circulation of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and its 'Key,' is a righteous instrumentality which will be blessed by the Almighty for the removal, at a no very distant day, of the foul stain of human slavery from every Christian land.

"In relation to the slave system of the United States, we bear in mind the vast numbers of our countrymen from Ireland who annually seek a home on the hospitable shores of America, and we therefore regard its continuance as being, to a certain extent, influenced by Irish sentiment.

"To induce Irishmen to form an acquaintance with its operations before leaving their native land, we associated with the collection of this Anti-slavery Tribute, the wide distribution among our emigrating population of an address to emigrants, issued by the Dublin Anti-slavery Society, a short time prior to the publication of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin;' the gentlemen's committee having printed, for our disposal, some thousand copies of the document in question since the commencement of 1853.

"That the all-wise Disposer of events may hasten the day of emancipation, and that your health may be preserved and your life prolonged to witness so glorious a triumph of the principles of Christianity, is the earnest desire and prayer of your Irish friends.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

"MARIA WEBB,
"MARY EDMUNDSON, } Secretaries."

We cannot dismiss this subject without laying stress upon the very practical suggestion contained in the foregoing address, relative to the distribution of anti-slavery tracts to emigrants about to quit our shores for the American continent. It is a branch of anti-slavery effort to which scarcely any attention has been paid, but which, if systematised and

prosecuted with vigour and perseverance, must result in good. We believe, however, that English emigrants are quite as much in need of information on this subject, as those who leave the sister isle, and quite as prone to fall into pro-slaveryism.

OUR ADDRESS TO CHURCHES.

In the April number of the *Reporter*, we published an Address to Christian Churches, issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. We have from time to time received responses, passed by various congregations and religious associations, which we should have published in our columns had it not been for press of matter. We propose to fulfil the obligation we are under of making known the sentiments of those religious bodies that have forwarded us a copy of the resolution or address they have deemed it their duty to adopt, in relation to this most important subject, and earnestly beg that others may follow the worthy example they have set. Up to the present time we have received replies from the following:

- Zoar Chapel, Strood.
 - Resolution from Swansea, Wales, passed at a public meeting.
 - April 14.—From Ministers and other Deputies of Churches belonging to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union.
 - 20.—Derbyshire Congregational Union.
 - 21.—South Devon Congregational Union.
 - May 9.—Lawns Mead Congregation, Bristol.
 - 14.—Aberdeen Unitarian Congregation.
 - 17 & 18.—Gloucestershire Association of Baptist Churches.
 - 18.—Midland Association of Baptist Churches.
 - 18.—British and Foreign Unitarian Association.
 - June 4.—Bristol Association of Baptist Churches.
 - 9.—Kent and Sussex Baptist Association.
 - 8.—West Riding Unitarian Tract and Village Mission Society.
 - 24.—Congregational Union of England and Wales.
 - 27.—Baptist Church Congregation, Romsey, Hants.
 - July 1.—City Road Congregational Chapel.
- "An Address on the subject of Slavery, from the Ministers and other Deputies of Churches belonging to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union, at their Annual Meeting, held in the Tabernacle, Kingswood, near Bristol, April 14, 1853, to the Ministers, Deacons, and other Members of Congregational Churches in the State of New York, United States, North America."

"DEAR FRIENDS,—We rejoice to believe that a considerable number of individuals among you fully sympathise with us on the subject of slavery.

To such we tender our heartfelt congratulations, entreating them, whatever may be their discouragements, not to be weary in well-doing, but to be assured that 'in due season they will reap if they faint not.' Let us also hope that should any among you be differently minded in this matter, they will not deem us intrusive in thus bringing the subject before their attention.

"Should any persons be disposed to meet us with the proverb, 'Physician, heal thyself,' we beg leave, without ostentation, to reply, that we are endeavouring to act in agreement with that advice. With regard to such evils existing in the British community as are within the province of the Legislature, we have made strenuous efforts for many years past to obtain desirable alterations in our laws. Nor have we laboured wholly in vain, as witness the abolition of the corn-laws, and the abolition, first, of the slave-trade, and, at length, of British colonial slavery. By the first-mentioned of these beneficial alterations in our laws, in connexion with other favourable concurring circumstances, our working classes have enjoyed the triple benefit of more work, higher wages, and bread at a very reasonable price. By the last of the above-mentioned legislative acts, it has now become the gladdening thought of every right-hearted Englishman that no one living under the British Government in any part of the world can legally be a slave. The interest you feel in the welfare of your fatherland will make you delighted to hear that there has never been a time in the recollection of persons now living when such an approximation towards a healthy state of the body politic was realised as that which now exists; and in the constitutional efforts which the British people continued for many years to make in order to obtain these improvements in our laws, it is well known that the Congregational body took its full share; nor shall we and other British Christians cease to labour in the same way, so long as any laws continue in force which we believe to be unfavourable to the welfare of any portion of the human race.

"With regard to the hardships which some of our working people endure in factories, we have to remark,

"1. That while we are not disposed to excuse anything that is oppressive and unjust, it is unquestionable that the evils existing in our factories have been much exaggerated by some of our fellow-countrymen, who have not yet forgiven the commercial class for their successful exertions to get rid of the tax on bread.

"2. That such hardships in factories as it was thought that Government might rightly interfere to prevent (such as excessive labour required from women and children), have been materially diminished by Acts of Parliament framed for that very purpose.

"3. That no British law sanctions the oppression of the poor, as does American law in reference to slaves; but that, on the contrary, if a pauper in a workhouse be ill-treated, both law and public opinion among us secure the punishment of the evil-doer, whoever he may be. Could this be said of the laws of the United States in reference to slaves, we should cease to remonstrate on the subject, since slavery would no longer exist, inasmuch as slavery is essentially 'oppression.'

"4. That wages, whether high or low, are part of a voluntary agreement between the employer and the employed; the latter agreeing to give a certain portion of work, and the former, what is deemed a corresponding amount of money; while, if possible, to secure the poor man from being deprived of part of the promised wages by fraudulent contrivances, all that law can do has been done by requiring the employer to pay his workmen, not in goods, but in the current coin of the realm.

"5. But that, after all, the labourer's best security consists in the fact that while the master, if dissatisfied with the man, may dismiss him, the man, if dissatisfied with the master, is equally at liberty to leave him, and to seek employment from some other master, who will give a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

"Let negroes and people of colour be brought by American law into such a relationship to their employers, and we shall at once be silent; or if we break silence, it will be only to express our joy and thankfulness.

"We do not deny that Britain is, unintentionally, abetting the cause of American slavery, by its large importation of American cotton, in the cultivation of which slaves are employed; but at the same time we are persuaded, that if there was an abundance of goods in the market, certified to be fabricated of materials in the preparation of which free-labour only had been employed, the spirit which some twenty-five years and some fifty years ago, induced myriads of British people to abstain from the use of West-India sugar, would now induce myriads to prefer free-labour to slave-labour garments; and we rejoice to believe that the result of efforts which are being made to encourage the growth of cotton in various parts of the world is likely, in a few years, to be such as to render us in a great measure independent, in this respect, of the American slave States.

"We know full well that the abolition of slavery in the United States must be a work of great difficulty, and also that, in some of the States, the slightest anti-slavery tendency exposes a man to ill-will and persecution. We know, therefore, that self-denial of no ordinary kind is needed by every consistent abolitionist. But we ask whether the cause be not one which is worthy of all the sacrifices which it may require; and to encourage those Christian friends, who are resolved at any cost to do their duty, we would call attention to the case of the primitive Christians, and to the trials which their Lord and Master led them to expect as the effect of that avowal of their attachment to Him, and to His cause, which He required of them. They were given to understand that not only would they bring down on themselves the hatred of strangers and of neighbours, but that even their domestic quiet and comfort would be jeopardized. Yet such anticipations prevented not their confessing Christ before men; nor, allow us to say, should your apprehensions of similar evils prevent your fulfilling your duty in regard to the oppressed; a duty so clearly pointed out in those Scriptures which require us to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them,' to 'let the oppressed go free,' to 'break every yoke,' and to 'love one's neighbour as oneself.'

"It would be superfluous for us to specify the various ways in which, as we conceive, you can assist the anti-slavery cause; but allow us to remind you that in a free country like yours and ours, public opinion, when it approaches to unanimity, and especially when, in addition to this, it has manifestly justice and religion on its side, governs the Government, and, sooner or later, embodies itself in law; and who, we ask, should be the leaders and guides of public opinion on a question of humanity, but the avowed friends of a divine religion, which consists in 'doing justly and loving mercy,' as well as in 'walking humbly with our God.'

"Besides a general view of the wretched condition of slaves, as being, even the most highly-favoured of them, the property of fellow-men, at whose pleasure they hold all that is valuable in life, and even life itself, (and by whom, if to-day they are humanely treated, they and theirs may to-morrow be sold to beings, whose character is shortly given in the unceremonious words of an old writer, 'half beast, half devil,') there are many special considerations which compel us, dear friends, earnestly to desire that you would pursue the course which we have taken the liberty of recommending.

"One of these considerations is the gross immorality which the slave-system produces, especially in reference to the seventh commandment of the decalogue.

"Another is, the hindrance which slavery places in the way of the religious instruction of slaves, and of their enjoyment of religious liberty.

"Another consideration which has weight with us, is the barrier which slavery puts in the way of intercourse between American and British Christians, as both preventing many of our countrymen from enjoying the pleasure and advantage which a visit to the States might yield, and at the same time obliging us to seem to act inquisitorially and inhospitably towards American Christians who visit us. For be assured, dear friends, that our acting thus cautiously towards our visitors arises from no Pharisaic sentiment which would say, 'keep away, I am holier than thou.' On the contrary, it is with no small sacrifice of feeling that we require to be certified as to the anti-slavery principles of our visitors, before we give them the 'right-hand of fellowship.' We thus act from the conviction that to welcome friends of slavery as Christian brethren would reasonably be interpreted to mean that, in our judgment, the support of slavery is quite compatible with Christian duty.

"This last consideration leads us to advert to one of the most deplorable of all the sad facts which belong to this melancholy subject, namely, that American slavery has no such other bulwark as that which it finds in the countenance it receives from professed Christians; a fact which many believe to be doing more mischief to the cause of Christian truth than all the speeches and writings of all the enemies of the Gospel, whether secret or avowed, who are living on both sides of the Atlantic.

"Finally, dear friends, it affords us some little relief to be able to express the conviction, grounded on what appear to be trustworthy statistics, that while unhappily there may be among you some

who are contented with inwardly disapproving of slavery, without making the slightest effort for its overthrow, as large a proportion of genuine and consistent friends of emancipation exists among you as is found in any section of the American Church. Should this friendly remonstrance be the means either of making the smallest addition to the number of that honourable company, or of augmenting, in any degree, their benevolent ardour in the good cause, it will not have been sent in vain.

"Believe us, dear friends, to remain, with best wishes for your happiness and usefulness,

"Yours truly,

"JOHN GLANVILLE, Kings-wood Tabernacle, } Chairman,

"WM. H. PAINE, M.D., Stroud, Treasurer,

"THOS. HAYNES, Cheltenham, Secretary,

"JOHN BURDER, Clifton, Bristol, Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union, *pro hac re*."

A GENTLEMAN EXECUTED FOR THE MURDER OF A SLAVE.—Sometime between 1800 and 1805, Lord Seaforth being Governor of Barbadoes, a slave-owner, having killed one of his own slaves, was tried for the murder and acquitted, the law considering such an act was not murder. Thereupon Lord Seaforth came to England, obtained an act of Parliament, declaring the killing of a slave to be murder, and returned to Barbadoes to resume his official duties. Soon afterwards another slave was killed by his owner, who was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged for murder, under the new act of Parliament. At the time appointed the prisoner was brought out for execution, but so strong was public feeling, that the ordinary executioner was not forthcoming, and on the Governor requiring the sheriff to perform his office, either in person or by deputy, after some excuses, he absolutely refused. The Governor then addressed the guard of soldiers, desiring a volunteer for executioner, adding, "whoever would volunteer should be subsequently protected, as well as rewarded then." One presented himself; and it thenceforth became as dangerous to kill a slave as a freeman in Barbadoes.—*Notes and Queries.*

The *Richmond (Va.) Dispatch* has the following:

INSOLENT.—On Saturday evening, a negro named Benjamin H. Smith refused to give the footway to Mr. John Puddy, used violent language towards him, and trespassed on his premises. Yesterday the mayor ordered Mr. Black Insolence 20 lashes, and to be committed in default of fifty dollars' security.

A SLAVE'S HONESTY.—A very large diamond has been discovered in Bagagem, in the province of the mines, South America. The discoverer was an old black slave woman, who immediately carried it to her master, a Brazilian, in very needy circumstances. He immediately gave the slave her liberty, and sent his brother to Rio with the diamond. The Commercial Bank advanced him about £10,000 on the gem, and it goes to England. It is said to be a stone of extraordinary beauty.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1st, 1853.

NOTICE.

Several letters having been addressed to the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, complaining of its non-arrival, the Editor begs respectfully to inform Subscribers that he has instituted careful inquiry, and has reason to believe that the irregularities complained of arise from the negligence of the Post-office authorities. The *Reporter* is regularly posted on the day of publication, with the name and address of each Subscriber legibly written on the wrapper, and ought to be delivered in due course. The Editor would feel obliged by a line from those Subscribers who have not received their numbers regularly, stating what number is missing, and measures will be taken to bring the subject under the consideration of the proper authorities. It is particularly requested that Subscribers should send their name and address in full.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The following circular has lately been issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society*.

"27, New Broad-st., London, 1st Sept., 1853.

"SIR,—At the close of the Anti-slavery Convention, held in the month of June, 1843, the following resolution was adopted:

"That in conformity with the precedent of the Convention in 1840, it be referred to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society* to call another Convention, similar in character and objects to the present, whenever, in their judgment, the cause would be promoted by it."

"The Committee have an impression that it might subserve the interests of the Anti-slavery cause, if a Convention were to be held in London during the next year; but before undertaking the responsibility of calling the same, they have thought it advisable to ask for the opinions of the friends throughout the country who are known to be devoted to the cause.

"The Committee have thought that the sittings of the Peace Conference at Edinburgh, in the month of October next, would afford a favourable opportunity for a meeting of the Anti-slavery friends, for the purpose of ascertaining the prevalent sentiment on the subject.

"In the meantime, the Committee will feel particularly obliged by your reply, addressed to me here, not later than the end of this month.

"I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary*."

The response, up to this time, has been without any exception in the affirmative. As, however, an expression of opinion as general as possible is desired, communications are respectfully but earnestly solicited, from those friends of the anti-slavery cause whose attention may not have been drawn earlier to the subject.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Another "rendition" under the Fugitive Slave Law, has recently taken place at Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, under circumstances that will best be gathered from the subjoined leader, extracted from the *Times* of the 7th September *ultimo*. The article is clear and forcible, and altogether one of those remarkable compositions which have deservedly placed the *Times*, not only at the head of the European press, but of this peculiar and all-important branch of popular literature.

"Considerable sensation has been occasioned in the United States by the exposition authoritatively given to the slave laws of that country by an able, and, we may add, an impartial judge, of the Supreme Court of the Union. The facts of the case admit of a very concise recital. A man of colour, named Washington M'Querry, had been residing for a period of four years in the State of Ohio, during which he had comported himself and, as the judge described in the words of his decision, 'had been recognized, treated, and considered,' as a free man. In this position of society he was suddenly claimed by Henry Miller, an inhabitant of Kentucky, as a slave who had formerly belonged to him, who had absconded from his residence, and who was therefore his property still. He demanded accordingly that the said Washington M'Querry be delivered up to him, and upon demur made to his claim, the trial in question ensued.

"The first step of the claimant was to establish his original right. This was proved by four deponents, who had known M'Querry in the character of Miller's slave, and by two credible witnesses, who had heard the defendant himself acknowledge the fact. This point, indeed, was scarcely disputed, so that the only remaining question concerned his liability to recapture under the several circumstances recounted above. On the part of what we may term the opposition, it was urged—1st, that no proof had been given of such a legal existence of slavery in Kentucky as would substantiate this species of property; 2ndly, that whatever might have been M'Querry's position in Kentucky, he was free in Ohio, and that the laws of one State were as much entitled to respect as those of another; 3dly, that there was no valid authority compelling a Sovereign State (such as are all the States of the Union) to act in opposition to its own statutes and ordinances, which ordinances in this case were opposed to the surrender of the slave; and, 4thly, that any laws of Congress to the contrary were unconstitutional, and therefore of no effect.

"These arguments were disposed of by Judge M'Lean in a decision which, whatever we may think of the law, does undoubtedly

much credit to its interpreter. The statement was clear, temperate, and, we must be allowed to think, convincing. Beyond question the States of the American Union are severally independent, and competent accordingly to enact their own laws. But, inasmuch as they are the States of a Union, or, in other words, 'the United States,' they necessarily surrendered a portion of their individual sovereignties in the formation of a federal whole. The terms and limits of this surrender are defined in the American 'Constitution,' and the enactments of this Constitution do undeniably provide for the recapture and delivery, as between one State and another, of fugitive slaves. As long, therefore, as the Constitution or Union is to be preserved, it cannot be competent for any one State to nullify by its particular laws the laws organically binding on the entire body, and, as a plain deduction, the State of Ohio could not, in contravention of the constitutional provisions and the explanatory decrees of Congress, forbid the surrender of slaves. Any ordinance to this effect the Supreme Courts of the Union would declare void. As to the original *status* of the defendant, since slavery in the slave States of America exists by law, and Kentucky is notoriously one of the States so constituted, there could be no argument maintainable on this point. M'Querry had been the lawful slave of Miller; he had unlawfully quitted his servitude; he had been identified; he was claimed according to law, and there was no law superior to that law which directed him to be given up to the claimant.

"We have before this expressed our own opinions in concurrence with the decision thus delivered; indeed, we think it demonstrable that a Fugitive Slave Law, in some form or other, is an incident inseparable from slavery. If property in human souls is to be recognized, this property must enjoy protection like all other. The simple toleration of slavery carries all these institutions along with it; nor do we imagine that on any ordinary question a people so sensible as the Americans would endeavour to controvert the dictates of evident law. What carries them in the present instance beyond these usual bounds is the force of nature itself, revolting by involuntary instinct from unnatural ordinances, and clutching with convulsive eagerness at any chance of escape from a conclusion which is an outrage upon reason, however it may be in accordance with statute. Everybody at Cincinnati, where the trial took place, must have felt within himself that Washington M'Querry could only be given up to Henry Miller by a piece of monstrous iniquity; but everybody, we think, might have also felt, as Judge M'Lean delivered his sentence, that this iniquity was prescribed with unimpeachable clearness by the Constitution of the United

States. For the rest, the trial appears to have been as decorous as the judgment was sound. There was much excitement, but there was no disturbance. The judge himself spoke in complimentary terms of the 'gentlemanly' management of the case, and he even went the length of acknowledging, as his own sentiment, that 'it would have been gratifying to find that the defendant was a free man.' Mr. Miller, too, the owner, evinced none of the temper of a Legree. It was not in evidence that he had been a cruel master, and by way of conciliating the feelings of an Ohio audience, he offered not only to sell the defendant on the spot to any of his patrons, but to 'donate' himself 50 dollars to a subscription fund, if there was any fancy for purchasing M'Querry in this manner. This proposal, however, was not accepted, and so, in due course of law, and in the most 'gentlemanly' manner, a human being, who for four years had been enjoying all the rights of a man and a citizen, is delivered up to another, for no crime at all, to be by him worked, chained, lashed, or sold, precisely like a beast of the field.

"It is remarkable that no point seems to have been made on either side as to the length of residence in a free State which the defendant could have proved. In most such cases there are laws of settlement or prescription, which after a time are held to override the statute. But it appears as if the rights of a slaveholder in a republic were equivalent to the rights of royalty under a monarchy. *Nullum tempus domino occurrit.* We are accustomed, even in this commercial country, to put limitations of time upon the very clearest debts; is there no limitation to the debt of slavery? Washington M'Querry had lived as a free man in a free State for very little less than that period which is held to make any man a citizen, and to entitle him, whatever his political delinquencies, to the uncompromising protection of the United States. M. Kossta, whose rights of liberty were asserted the other day by an American captain, at the cannon's mouth, had not done half as much, or waited half as long for the freedom of the States, as poor Washington M'Querry. Is there no contrast to be drawn between the cases?"

"Everybody can understand, from this example, how strong and even irresistible must be the excitement produced by this peculiar operation of the slave-law code. A free State has the most outrageous incidents of slavery brought home to its very doors, and exemplified in its own courts. It is exactly as if the Government of Spain were by some means enabled to insult and defile the bodies of dead Protestants in Kensal Green Cemetery by warrant from the Court of Chancery. Here was a man who, as was plainly confessed, had for four long years been living

on terms of equality, amity, and social relationship with his fellow-men, who might have formed the usual connexions, and inspired the usual feelings attending such condition of life,—and who, nevertheless, is summoned by a tyrant as inexorable as death itself, to follow him away to captivity and sorrow. All this, too, is done in the name and under the precepts of the law; though the law, by a striking refinement of delicacy, avoids all mention of slavery by name. We had imagined that the euphemisms of General Pierce on this subject were entirely his own; but we must confess that his language, in this respect, was signally 'constitutional.' 'I am aware,' said Judge M'Lean, 'that the word "slave," is not in the Constitution, but it was debated in Convention; it caused a deep excitement in the public mind, and the constitutional provision in this regard was the result of compromise. . . . There cannot be a doubt that the term, "persons held to service or labour," applies principally to persons held as slaves. Madison, while assenting to the provision, objected to the use of the term "slave," because it expressed a thing repugnant to his sentiments. He did not wish the idea that one man could hold property in another recognised in the organic law of his country.' The Constitution, therefore, of the United States scorns the 'idea' of slavery, but it deals with the fact, as the case before us has shown. Will a people like those of the United States long tolerate such a state of the law?"

Yes! How long? say we also.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AT MOZAMBIQUE.

We append an extract from a Liverpool paper, the *Albion*, of July 18th ult., giving some interesting facts relating to the Slave-trade on the east coast of Africa. We believe the information has been derived from an authentic source:—

"We take occasion to call the attention of our readers to a subject which can never be worn out; a subject the oftener it is mentioned the more it excites the indignation of the philanthropist, while it awakens all the sympathies of our nature in favour of those unfortunates who are the victims of its horrors: we mean the slave-trade! And, as we have been put into possession of some facts regarding the existence of this traffic, we lay them before our readers, not doubting but that the sincere abolitionist will use his every endeavour to check a trade which appears to be progressing in the whole province of Mozambique with such rapid strides as to sanction the belief that its legality was about to be re-enacted.

"The highest officer in authority there not only deals in slaves, but employs an agent, who, from being the captured mate of a slaver, became a second-lieutenant in the navy and governor of Ibo. This man, a Spaniard, has sent many hundreds of blacks to slavery across the Atlantic.

He is still governor, and a creature of the governor-general.

"From Inhambave 800 Caffres were embarked, including 400 freed men; and the Portuguese brig-of-war Don Juan de Castro put on board a slaver fifty blacks; this vessel is called the *Mercury*, or packet of the governor.

"Although these transactions are not legal, they are carried on, more or less, by all the authorities, to the absolute ruin of the province and discredit of the Government, who appointed the governor-general; and, although the parties could be prosecuted, yet the home Government does nothing, while the implicated escape with impunity, and persecute those who denounce or oppose the traffic, to the extent of banishment from the province.

"The governors of Ibo, for a series of years, have profited by their position. One of them, a bad character, and a deserter from the militia in Portugal, returned home with 32,000 dollars. This man, while in his office, was prosecuted at the instance of the officers of the *Snake*, *Mutine*, and *Sappho*; was six months prisoner in the fort of St. Sebastian, but the process was smothered by the governor-general, his protector, who not merely knew how to deceive the English cruizers, but how to gain their confidence, which was by giving them information where they would find vessels (pangaos) with slaves, and, while they went in search and captured them in the north, he would despatch cargoes of slaves from the south, and *vice versa*. The antecessor of this governor of Ibo returned to Portugal with £10,000 sterling; while his immediate successor returned with 36,000 dollars.

"An officer of the Portuguese navy, who commanded the brig Don Juan de Castro, was charged to receive the produce of the traffic in the ports of the province, and deliver it to the governor. This officer became a favourite with the British officers, whom he deluded. He realized 20,000 dollars, and was one of the agents of a man who is engaged largely in the traffic. Another agent of the latter embarked the greater part of his cargoes of blacks from the bay of Bango (to the north of Sofala) and its hidden rock, which the British cruizers have no knowledge of, it being protected by sandbanks, which prevent its being seen.

"In addition to these facts, it is notorious that a major, a comparatively poor man, went to Mozambique a short time ago, and returned sufficiently wealthy to purchase the estate of Admiral Sartorius, at Piedade, which he occupies. He was accused, but the accusations were smothered.

"Another person, who was governor of Quillmane from seven to nine months, returned with 80,000 dollars.

"A vessel was daily expected in the Tagus, and has doubtless arrived, whose intrepid but slave-dealing owner had safely landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba; to which island nearly all the slaves exported from Mozambique are sent; and there are now actually building, on the margin of the Tagus, in Lisbon, two vessels destined for the trade, the cupidity of speculators being excited by the success and competency attained by those who have engaged in the traffic, which has also so emboldened the immoral mind that there are, at the present moment, in the Marine Department

in Lisbon, five petitions asking for grants of land, in perpetuity, at a ground-rent, in Mozambique: three in the names of notorious slave-dealers and two in fictitious names, ostensibly for settlements for colonization, but, according to the naked truth, for no other purpose than to people them with blacks, and ship them off as slaves. But we have great pleasure in adding to this horrid detail of facts, that we understand the Government of Portugal is not only alive to the necessity of putting down the trade, but have the object much at heart; in which they will be warmly supported by the Ultra-marine Council, at the head of which figures Viscount Sa da Bandeira, the philanthropist of Portugal, while other philanthropists are forming themselves into a Society, which embraces and is composed of men of all political parties, who are about to receive from the Government a lease of the province for a given number of years, for the purpose of colonizing it, exploring its mines, cutting timber (of which the most exquisite and most valuable in the whole world exists there), and introducing such a system of trade with the chiefs of the interior, accompanied by the religious instruction and moralization of the people, as will tend gradually to remove those habits for slave-dealing which are now dominant with the petty chiefs, and to cause the traffic to die at its source. In attempting this there will be much to do, much to accomplish; but the colony abounds in everything that is produced on the western coast, and, by removing the present authorities, and having a controlling power over their successors, little doubt can be entertained of final success. The colony is well situated for trade; it produces, and will produce, coffee, of the finest quality, which grows wild, sugar, palm-oil, tobacco, rice, indigo, all the dying woods, timber for ship-building and other purposes, and, recently, a discovery of coals has been made, of the finest description, and which will yield an abundance of tar. The Marquis of Bemesta Subsera is one of the leading philanthropists in the laudable undertaking, and we warmly recommend the Society, or Company, to the moral support and sympathy of the British Government and the sincere abolitionist. We are also given to understand that the Society propose to liberate gradually the slaves which exist there, by yearly portions, as they acquire habits of being able to act as free labourers. Thus Mozambique will become the second Brazil and Australia of Portugal, and may regenerate the mother-country, already torn by dissension. It may, in fact, force a railroad into existence to transport its produce over the whole peninsula, and be the happy agent by which the Government may redeem its faith. We had almost forgotten to say, that gold exists in Mozambique, while its climate, except in the island which bears its name, is salubrious."

WEST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—The conflict between the Executive and the Legislature has brought all kinds of business into a stagnant position; hence, our files contain little of interest, prognostications as to the future making up the table of contents of the island press.

When matters come to be arranged, the subject of an increase of immigrants will have early attention. Arrangements have been made with numbers of the Coolies entitled to return-passages, to remain in the colony upon payment to them of £10 each for adults, and £5 for children between the ages of three and twelve. They are not, as in the case of Guiana, to be brought under the operation of any contract laws now existing in the colony, but are to be at liberty to choose their own employments.

An exciting case had engaged the attention of the magistrates on the 28th of May last, and such was the state of feeling, and the rush of the populace, that the magistrates were compelled to adjourn to a more commodious room. The cause of the commotion was the arrival of the steamer *Paraguay*, from Charleston, U. S., having two mulatto slaves on board. It appears that the poor fellows resided at Charleston, and hearing that the steamer was about to sail for South America, managed to smuggle themselves on board, with the intention of claiming their liberty on their arrival. The steamer, however, fell short of coals, and put in to Jamaica. A coloured man, a native of the island, happening to go on board, out of curiosity, to view the vessel's machinery, saw the two men, who communicated to him the fact that they were slaves, and desirous of claiming their liberty; whereupon the visitor immediately reported the matter to the authorities. A demand was immediately made, and the men were readily given up. An investigation was then entered into before the bench of magistrates, and the American Consul; the owner of the vessel being also present. It came out in evidence that one of the negroes was named Hardy; that he was a slave of his father, who is a white man and a cotton-factor. His mother was sold, sixteen or eighteen years ago. Had lived in Charleston ten years. Wished to remain in Jamaica, as he understood he would then be free. The other slave's name was Lewis, who deposed that he was a slave at Charleston, that he was born there, and was 22 years of age in March last. John Chance Bailey, the steward of the *Paraguay*, said he had not known either Hardy or Lewis in Charleston. He saw them on board, after he came out of prison, on the Thursday previous to the sailing of the vessel. According to the laws of the State, he being a coloured man, and a native of the State of New York, he had been imprisoned till within two days of the vessel's sailing. Lewis and Hardy told him they were free. He had nothing to do with their leaving Charleston. The magistrates expressed their belief, to the American Consul, that Bailey was innocent of the smuggling away of the men. The Consul said he was glad that Bailey had cleared himself so well, for the American laws

were so strict, that if the charge had been proved against him, he would have been liable to a fine of a thousand dollars, or imprisonment for five, eight, or ten years. The two men were then set at liberty by the justices, and were received by the populace with acclamations. The steward, however, fearing the consequences which might result to him through the escape of the men, refused to go on board the vessel again. A report was got up that another coloured steward remained on board in irons, in consequence of having given information relating to the other slaves. This fact was denied by the Consul, but as all communication with the vessel was strictly forbidden, there were no means of ascertaining the truthfulness of the statement.

Our more recent files are filled with comments on the debates of the Imperial Legislature, relative to the relief proposed for the suffering condition of the island. The opposition with which the proposals were at first met, appears to be subsiding, and the belief prevails that with some modification the scheme of relief will have the approval of a majority in the local legislature. It is conceded by all parties, that the practice hitherto adopted of voting away the public monies is highly objectionable, and that a change must be made; but not to the length of abandoning all popular control over the limitation and appropriation of the public expenditure, and the establishing of an Executive Government, holding its appointment at the will of the Crown, irresponsible of the people. It is to be hoped that a speedy settlement of the question will be made, as the island is in a deplorable state. Properties continue to change hands at ruinous prices.

The anniversary of emancipation had passed off quietly, and the holidays had been devoted to public meetings and religious exercises.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Since our last summary the colonial papers have been taken up with discussions relative to the results of Mr. Barkly's governorship. There seems to be but one opinion: that on the whole his office has been sustained with skill, and general benefit to the community.

The Committee of Immigration have recommended that the Lieutenant-Governor give the necessary instructions for the introduction of 1,500 Chinese during the next season, exclusive of the deficiency of the season of 1852-53; and that he be likewise requested to order 2,500 Calcutta Coolies for the season of 1853-54,—exclusive of the deficiency of the previous season,—with as large a proportion of females as possible; also to urge on her Majesty's Government the hardship of compelling the colony to pay a return-passage, the charge of which is burthensome in the extreme, and should be discontinued; and requesting that in the event of its being

insisted upon, the term of service should be extended to not less than eight years.

We learn, from the proceedings of the Court of Policy of June 13th, that the Duke of Newcastle has refused his consent to the late Immigration Ordinance passed in the colony. The changes introduced by the late ordinance are as follows. It legalizes absolutely contracts for five years made with certain formalities in China with Chinese immigrants, and provides that Coolies and Chinese emigrants introduced on bounty, and also that all Coolies who have commuted, or may commute their right to a return-passage, shall be indentured for five years; that liberated Africans above fifteen years of age shall be indentured for three years; and that no bounty shall be paid on Portuguese immigrants arriving after the 1st of May, unless they also indenture themselves for the same period. Moreover, it is provided that if her Majesty's Government should consent that the time of the residence of the Coolies be extended to eight or ten years, the indenture shall be made to embrace such further term as her Majesty's Government may authorize. It is further enacted that every indentured immigrant may determine his contract at the expiration of any year, after due notice, and on repaying to the colony the amount of bounty paid on his introduction; (amounting, in the case of Chinese, to 100 dollars; in that of Coolies, to £10 or £11;) and to his employer, all reasonable cost incurred on his behalf.

The planters are very sore at this refusal, and affirm that unless some such ordinance be adopted as that which has been negatived by her Majesty, the present expensive system of immigration will have to be abandoned. The *Colonist* makes the following remarks on the subject:

"The announcement from the Duke of Newcastle, that her Majesty had been advised by her ministry to refuse her assent to the ordinances relative to immigration, has been received with much dissatisfaction, as great expectations had been roused in consequence of the new regulations. We confess that we are not of the number who regard this as a calamity, as the expenses of immigration are greater than the revenues of the colony can bear, without serious injury to its future prospects. If this change should have the effect of stopping the influx of Chinese and Coolies, we shall be far from regretting it, as the benefit accruing from their labour was, in our opinion, more than outweighed by the heavy outlay demanded for their introduction, and in the case of the Coolies for their return-passage, at the expiration of their term of service. The Chinese, so far as we can learn, have proved of little service, and disappointed the expectations formed of them previous to their arrival."

There had been several arrivals of Madeirians and Coolies.

The following statement is taken from the report of Mr. Goodman, a magistrate, who

was appointed to settle some disputes which had arisen, relative to the partition of the Buxton estate, consisting of 800 acres of land, which was purchased in 1841 for 50,000 dollars, and conveyed over to 128 Creole labourers. It serves to show how rapidly the labourers are becoming proprietors of the soil in this colony, and what, in the opinion of this gentleman, is its effect upon the general prosperity of the colony.

"There are no less than seven estates purchased by Creole labourers, between Georgetown and Victoria, a distance of fifteen miles (and through which the railway runs), containing about 4 or 5,000 acres, of which, by adding back lands, the quantity may be doubled; and, although the sub-divisions of these estates are likely to put an end to the difficulties and serious embarrassments that must eventually have taken place amongst the villagers themselves, and the measure conferred upon them by the Legislature has been a great boon to them, it is deeply to be regretted that whatever the future prospects of the colony may be, as to increasing its agricultural exports, so large a quantity of the finest and most productive land in the colony, and situated in the most eligible part of Guiana, should, by these sub-divisions, be for ever excluded from contributing in any way to the exports of the colony." —*West Indian*, June 14.

The *Colonist*, May 9th, gives the following particulars, on the authority of the harbour-master, of the escape of another party of slaves from Surinam, and their safe arrival at Berbice.

"The schooner *Pheasant*, from Berbice, has on board a seaman (James Malcolm), one of the crew of the brig *Agnes*, now taking in produce on the sea-coast of Surinam. He states that he was taking in sugar on board the estate's schooner (the *Clyde*), belonging to Mr. Grey, the proprietor, with a slave crew, and three Dutch soldiers as guards on board, when nineteen slaves came on board, bound the captain and the three soldiers (after throwing the muskets overboard), and took them all into Berbice, where they made their escape."

The most promising hopes are entertained of the year's crop, the fields everywhere passing expectation.

The last mail brings intelligence that the Court of Policy, not satisfied with the despatch of the Duke of Newcastle, conveying the refusal of her Majesty to the late immigration ordinance, has addressed a lengthy communication to his Grace, with the object of winning him over to its views.

Sugar-making was general throughout the colony, and the canes were yielding better than was anticipated.

The attention of the planters is likely to be directed, by the success of an American gentleman, to RICE, as an article of export. Mr. Colvin, the gentleman referred to, had leased some abandoned land, and planted about seventy acres. The appearance of the crop

was most luxuriant, and many who had seen it coincide in the view of Mr. Colvin, that it fully equals the fields of Carolina, and the Southern States. It has been estimated that the yield will be from forty to fifty bushels per acre.

"We notice this circumstance," the *Colonist* remarks, "with much pleasure, as the introduction of rice into the colony will be a new era, and show those who predict the ruin of the colony from the decline of sugar cultivation, that so long as there is fertile soil, a favourable climate, and willing hands, we need not fear for the country, or its inhabitants. We have long entertained the opinion, that one great cause of the want of labour here, was the restriction of industry to one species of work, and that the introduction of various cultivations would tend to renew in our population the habits of labour, and the desire to make themselves useful to society."

The same paper has the following remarks on immigration from the West Coast of Africa:—

"Our anti-slavery friends will find sufficient cause of alarm in the question addressed to the Duke of Newcastle by Lord Brougham, relative to the contract between the colonies and Hyde, Hodge, and Co., for the furnishing a supply of free negroes. If the statement of the noble lord be an approximation to the truth, there can be no question that it amounts to a direct encouragement of slavery; and that even the character of that eminent firm will not save England from the imputation of secretly abetting this infamous traffic, although the object is known to be the subsequent manumission of the slave, the moment he becomes the property of the contractors. This is a risk which no advantage to the colonies can ever justify, and the Home Government cannot watch too narrowly the working of the experiment."

It is to be regretted that the local authorities should permit, year after year, the unseemly practices pursued by the Coolies. A riot has, at length, been the result of their drunken orgies. The day on which the disturbance occurred was one on which a Coolie festival was celebrated, and great numbers of these people assembled on the occasion. They carried a temple, before which they danced or prostrated themselves, and upon which they threw their offerings of rice. On their arrival in the village from some of the neighbouring estates, they stopped opposite the residence of Mr. Smellie, merchant, where they created considerable disturbance. Two gentlemen, resident in the district, happening to pass at the time, either irritated them by stopping the gig in which they travelled too near the temple, or something else intervened to raise the passions of a crowd already, to all appearance, under the influence of the toddy of the palm-tree. Whatever the cause, however, they attacked the travellers and Mr. Smellie, who interfered to protect them, and all three are seriously injured. Knives and cutlasses were brandished among

the Coolies, and the riot was, with difficulty, settled by the stipendiary magistrate, Mr. M'Leod, who happened to be in the vicinity, and who, it is said, was himself somewhat roughly handled by the mob. The police stationed in the village, although anxious to do their duty, were quite inadequate to putting down this rather formidable and happily rare description of tumult.

The papers note the sailing of the ship *Sandford* with returned Coolies, to the number of 211, consisting of 143 men, 44 women, and 24 children. Besides trinkets, nose-jewels, bracelets, and other adornments of the person, all of the precious metals, and of very considerable value, the Coolies carried with them £1,000 sterling.

The barque *Appoline* had arrived with 192 Coolies, and several other vessels were daily expected.

TRINIDAD.—An ordinance "for raising the sum of 25,000 dollars, to be applied to the introduction of free labourers," has been introduced by the Attorney-general, on whose motion the standing rules were suspended, and the ordinance went through the several stages, and was passed. The Attorney-general proposed the following resolution:—"That it is expedient that at least 1,000 free labourers from the East Indies be introduced into the colony in the year 1854," which motion was seconded by Mr. Rennie, and agreed to.

The Chinese immigrants had given evidence of their determination not to be subjected to the same kind of usage as other classes of immigrants have been compelled to endure. The Chinese will not be imposed upon in the matter of the amount of work to be performed, neither will they bear the infliction of the lash. The following is an account of an affray which took place on the *Orange Grove Estate*, in Tacarigua:—

"The dispute commenced by the Chinese refusing to perform their allotted task of 25 rods, and on the completion of 16 rods they prepared to depart. This excited the ire of the sub-overseer, a person named Connelly, who, seizing a whip from the hands of a carter who was standing by, let it fly, and cut two of the Chinese with the lash. In a short time he was surrounded by them, armed with cutlasses, and but for the timely assistance of the Coolies, who came to his rescue, he might not now be living to tell the tale. The following morning the overseer, who has always been extremely indulgent with these people, and apparently a great favourite with them, went to their barracks to pacify them, by assuring them that an investigation of the affair of the previous day was going forward, and they would receive satisfaction for any injury inflicted. The terms of conciliation were, however, not understood, and a repetition of the affray took place, by attacking the 'ambassador of peace.' Mr. Hume, on receiving intelligence of the matter, immediately left town for the estate, accompanied by Dr. Mitchell, and an interpreter. Connelly was

charged with the assault, before Messrs. Webster, S. J., and Henry Johnson, and being convicted, was sentenced to pay a fine of forty dollars."—*Herald*.

At a meeting of the Legislative Council, on the 1st of July, Lord Harris made known a plan he proposes to adopt for providing the necessary funds for immigration. He said, there were two ways for providing the needful supplies; one by a loan to be gradually repaid, and the other by at once providing the necessary funds to pay off the annual expenditure: he preferred the latter course. He proposes that, in future, the employers of indentured immigrants shall pay to the Government, in lieu of the present rates, £2 the first year, and £3 for every subsequent year. When immigrants change their employers, £5 to be charged the first year, and £4 for every subsequent year. The excise duty on liquors and wines to be doubled, the increase from which is estimated at £16,000 per annum. The import duties on articles of primary necessity to be gradually removed, beginning with a reduction of £2,000 in 1854, and extending to a reduction of £15,000 in 1861. The importation of 1,000 Coolies at £15 per head is provided for during the years 1855 to 1862, and for the return passages of the same number from 1863 to 1870. The calculations explanatory of the scheme show a balance, in 1870, in favour of the Government, of £19,000 on these financial operations. The project was opposed by Mr. Rennie and the Attorney-general, after which the Council passed to the order of the day.

The *Bucephalus* left for Calcutta early in August, carrying 282 men, 23 women and two children. On counting the money over on board the ship, which the Coolies had saved, it was ascertained that the sum total exceeded 30,000 dollars.

BARBADOES.—The quantity of sugar shipped to the end of June was 30,728 bhd.; and we suppose it will not be much before the end of August that the crop will be sent away. Everything promises well just now: the young crop; the closing in of the old crop, which will prove a fair one of some 86,000 hogsheads; the planting of provisions, for which the weather has been very favourable; and the preparation of the lands, which is carried on together with, and promoted by the planting of provisions through them.

ST. VINCENT.—The weather had been very favourable for the young canes. There was some difference of opinion as to the result of the present crop, some parties thinking it will be equal to that of last year, whilst others hold that there will be a falling off.

"We ourselves," says the *Gazette*, "have much pleasure in congratulating all parties upon the halcyon state of the island; and really, if the legislative proceedings were not a drawback, we

should fancy ourselves in the golden age. Blest with a ruler ruling in the fear of God, a smiling harvest, a happy peasantry, propitious seasons, thriving commerce, joined to the first of all blessings—health—the island, and all within it, may look up with grateful hearts to the Giver of Good, and return Him thanks for the blessings they enjoy."

ST. LUCIA.—The only item of intelligence from this island is the passing of an Act laying additional exports on the staple produce, 1s. per gallon on rum, 6d. on molasses, and 3d. per cwt. on sugar, to provide for the interest and liquidation of a loan of £15,000, which they have borrowed from Government for the purpose of procuring immigrants, 1000 of whom they hope to obtain by this means. The *Palladium* regards the ordinance as objectionable, and certainly it might be asked very reasonably, if it is worth while at such a price to obtain a thousand labourers?

ST. KITTS.—The island is said to be in a flourishing condition, evidenced by the state of the treasury, in which there is more money than is wanted for the expenses of the Government. Considerable incomes are being realized by the planters from their estates.

MONTserrat.—Things are said to wear an improved appearance, owing, in a great measure, to several enterprising gentlemen having gone from Barbadoes and purchased estates, which they manage on a better system, more particularly by paying their labourers regularly every week in cash, and by introducing improved methods of planting, &c., from which quite an alteration has taken place in the condition of Montserrat from what it was a year or two ago.

TORTOLA.—A dreadful calamity has happened here. The negroes, annoyed at the increase of taxes falling upon them, burned down half the town, and threatened the lives of all the white and coloured inhabitants. It appears that they are, for the most part, engaged in the rearing of cattle; upon each head of which, they had to pay a tax of twenty-four cents into the Treasury at Road Town. Their Legislature, which consists of a House of Assembly and Council, passed an Act to raise this tax from twenty-four to thirty-six cents. This gave rise to much dissatisfaction when it was made known amongst the cattle-breeders and negroes in the country, and they determined to resist the payment of it. On the 1st of August, when the tax was to be paid, they repaired to Road Town, and offered payment at the old rate of twenty-four cents per head. This being refused by the Treasurer, they made a great noise in his office, and upon his attempting to put them out, used violence, and went so far as to strike him. Upon this, he called in the aid of the constables, and several of them

were taken before the magistrates. Two of them were committed to prison in consequence; the others went to the President, and requested him to liberate their companions, which he refused to do; and they forthwith proceeded to the gaol, forced it, liberated their companions and all the other prisoners, beat the gaoler, and threatened to return on the next day, in a stronger body, and burn down the town. They were as good as their word; for on the next day, in the afternoon, they came back and set fire to several houses, in consequence of which about half the town was destroyed.

Up to this time the people of Tortola have been regarded as a quiet, well-disposed, and religious people.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. STOWE.

The Committee engaged in promoting this fund are deprived of the opportunity of a personal presentation to Mrs. Stowe, by her unexpected and early return home. They are much disappointed not to be able to afford to their friends in different parts of the country, who have zealously assisted in the collection, the gratification of being present on such an occasion.

In our *July Reporter* we inserted a circular, which stated the objects to which the fund was to be applied.

The following letter, written by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and signed by his Lordship's co-trustees for the Stowe Tribute, has been since put into circulation by the Committee:—

“London, July 18, 1853.

“We, the undersigned, being Trustees for the ‘Tribute to Mrs. Beecher Stowe in aid of Negro Emancipation,’ are very desirous that the sum collected for that purpose should amount, at the least, to two thousand pounds; five hundred pounds are still required; and we believe that we are not asking too much of our fellow-citizens, when we appeal to them for their assistance towards the completion of a fund destined to so great and so good a purpose.

“Your obedient Servants,

“SHAFTESBURY,
SAM. GURNEY,
EDWD. N. BUXTON,
JOSEPH STURGE,
GEO. WM. ALEXANDER.”

[The signature of the Earl of Carlisle would have appeared with the above, but for the absence of that nobleman, at the present time, in the east of Europe.]

It is intended to send an address to Mrs. H. B. Stowe with the amount; and, on the completion of the undertaking, the Committee will be pleased to furnish some particulars to their friends. They intend to wind it up as early as may be.

SLAVE-HUNTING IN CALIFORNIA.

The *California Christian Advocate* relates an incident which recently occurred in San Francisco, showing what things are done there under cover of the late Fugitive Slave Law of that State:

“On last Thursday morning, just before the sailing of the steamer *Golden Gate*, the usual quiet of Belden-street, in this city, was disturbed by a most remarkable affair, the thread of which seems as yet shrouded in mystery—probably in the mystery of iniquity.

“It appears, as near as the facts have as yet been ascertained, that a coloured woman, named Louisa, had resided there for some time past, washing and cooking for several persons, and striving to make an honest living. She seems to have maintained a fair character in the neighbourhood. She had been a slave, however, and was brought to this country, some time in 1850, by Mrs. Reese, who keeps a boarding house on Dupont-street. Louisa lived with Mrs. Reese for one year, when, owing to causes not necessary to relate, she left, agreeing to pay \$800 to Mrs. R. for the year's time she still owed her. Since the passage of the State Fugitive Slave Law, Louisa, it is said, had heard various rumours that she would be sent back to slavery. But she confided in the integrity of her old mistress, and took no pains to keep out of the way. She considered also, that the reports, if from the family, were only intended to stimulate her to pay the \$800—two hundred, or more, of which she had already paid, and she was labouring successfully to secure the balance. Some flattering offers, or, more properly, decoys, had been presented, to induce her to return to the States, but she had not listened to them.

“On the day before the steamer sailed, we are told, on what we consider reliable authority, that she was requested to go to Mrs. Reese's early on the next morning—that is, on the morning the steamer sailed. She did not go, but put on her wash-water, and was proceeding as usual with her daily avocations, when five men rushed unexpectedly upon her, seized her, and after a vigorous resistance, in which her dress was nearly torn off, captured her and hurried her into a carriage, which was standing in the street adjacent, and drove speedily away. A Scotch woman who was near, witnessing the horrible plight of the coloured woman, ran to fetch her another dress, but the carriage was gone, and only one or two persons happened to be near, who were confused and confounded by the circumstances, till the carriage was beyond reach. The five men were armed with revolvers. A number, ready to secure the full value of the woman to any claimant, ran to the boat, but, amid the denials, contradictions, and confusion of starting, nothing could be done. What adds to the mystery of the affair is, that no process of law was observed. So far as we can learn, no warrant was obtained, nor was the woman taken before any justice of the peace or judge of any court. It is said, however, but we know not how truly, that a certain official of the city led on the chivalrous attack.

“Another matter of mystery is, that Mrs. Reese,—who is, or her daughter, the proper person

and claimant to move an arrest according to law,—assures a friend of ours that she neither knew of nor authorised the arrest.

"Under the State Fugitive Slave Law, two coloured men who had been stewards on the Golden Gate were sent back to the States on the last trip. We suppose these were sent back according to law."

An account of another case, under the law, is given in the *San Francisco Herald*:

"FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—Justice Shepperd yesterday issued a warrant for the arrest of a mulatto woman, who was claimed as a fugitive from labour by T. T. Smith, of Jackson county, Missouri. She was brought to this country by the claimant, in 1850, and remained, together with a number of other slaves, in his family until a few months since, when she married a free negro and escaped. Her owner heard of her arrival here, and came down in search. Being informed that she was secreted on board the ship Flying Cloud, he applied for a warrant, by virtue of which she was arrested and brought before Justice Shepperd, by whom, on satisfactory proof of title, she was remanded to the custody of Mr. Smith, to be conveyed to the State of Missouri."

FREE-LABOUR MOVEMENT.

We extract the following from the last number of the *Slave*, published (as probably most of our readers know) by the Newcastle Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. The letter was addressed to the Editor of this useful though unpretending publication.

"Manchester, Aug. 18, 1853.

"You are aware that the greatest difficulty we have had to encounter, in carrying out the 'Free-labour Movement,' has been the getting the free-grown cotton made into yarn. The trouble of keeping it separate is greatest in the spinning. When once it is spun there is very little danger of its being mixed, unless wilfully; and this we guard against by getting the cloth made by conscientious men. The trouble of keeping it separate in the spinning was so great, that we could get but very few manufacturers to undertake to make the yarn; we have, therefore, to overcome this difficulty, arranged with a trustworthy spinner (whom you know) to put down two new spinning machines, or rather, to advance the money for them, at interest, in a spare space in his mill. The machinery thus arranged for is upon the most improved principle, and is to be employed upon the spinning of free-grown cotton; the cost of the machines is £200: they will be at work upon the remaining six bales of free-grown American cotton the beginning of next week. We are, by this, placed in a position to supply a much greater variety of goods, as, with those machines, we will be able to get the most useful yarns made, by which we will have prints, long cloths, tapes, a better class of grey calico, 3-cord sewing cotton, and a great variety of other articles, as far as the supply of free-grown cotton will allow. At present, we have no regular supply of long-stapled cotton suitable for finer muslins and 6-cord sewings, than we have already produced; but, occasionally, we have some from the West Indies. The machines are made so that they will

spin both the coarse and the finer yarns. To take advantage of our favourable position, to make this movement effective, and to answer the demand for free-labour goods from the friends of the slave, we must have the capital employed extended, that we may give a *bonâ fide* order for cotton, and not require our friend in the States to advance the money for the purchase of cotton—in fact, he declines doing so any more; and, also, that we may be able to secure any other free-labour cotton coming into the market, and get such made into goods. The time has now come when the free-labour capital, instead of being under £1000, should be, at the least, £3000; without an enlarged capital the movement will be a failure. To those acquainted with manufacturing, it is quite unnecessary to state, that it would not pay a manufacturer to turn his attention to the making of a few pieces of any one particular kind of goods, the trouble and expense of altering his machinery would more than counterbalance any profit he might have by the transaction: it will, therefore, follow, that to have a much greater variety of articles, there must be a much larger stock, and while there is a much greater demand, there must be capital to pay for the stock to meet that demand. You are aware, that although we give a great portion of our time and attention to the movement, that we cannot direct the capital connected with our regular business to this.

"We will be happy to receive any loans of any amount, upon the same terms as formerly, towards the increase of the free-labour capital.* We have made arrangements, to-day, with a very excellent man, to make a variety of goods, such as domestics, printing cloths, light and heavy shirtings, &c., &c. We have had four bales of excellent West India cotton consigned to our house; but, for want of the 'sinews of war,' do not feel justified in purchasing them for the movement.

"We are, dear friends,

"Yours, truly,

"JOSIAS F. BROWNE & Co."

"It is curious," remark the editors of the *Slave*, "to observe how exactly this letter agrees with the following extract from the letter of an American correspondent, which we opened at the same time:—

"I have a settled conviction that the movement, to succeed in a way that will be satisfactory to its friends, must be managed *by its friends* by concert of action, everything being conducted so as to inspire entire confidence in the integrity of the articles as really the exclusive products of free labour. I deemed it best, therefore, that our friends and *reliable* coadjutors in England should choose *whom* they will take into the field of labour.

"There need be no difficulty in procuring as much free-labour cotton as we shall require for a long time, if arrangements can be made to pay for it, and hold it till the manufacturers whom we employ can take it off our hands. If a capital of ten or twenty thousand dollars, or more, could be commanded for that purpose, either actually subscribed and held in trust for that object, or a credit obtained from some responsible individual or institution, whose credit would be a guarantee for drafts drawn upon them by the agent here, who should be selected to purchase the cotton;

or, if some cotton dealer should be willing to provide the means, and attend to the purchase and sale, he being guaranteed against loss by fall in price, to a limited extent, by a fund provided for that purpose, either mode might answer.

'I fear J. F. Browne & Co. have not capital enough in their business to enable them to attend to getting goods manufactured to supply the free-labour demand. I have suffered very great disappointments in regard to orders put under their care, besides being a serious loss to me in my business. But the most serious effect has been to discourage the consumers. I do not mean to complain of our esteemed friends, J. F. B. & Co., but merely to query whether there is any remedy possible to us.—*Philadelphia*, 7 mo. 29, 1853.'

"We wish," continue the editors, "very seriously to commend the above to the attention of our readers. Again and again have we been asked by the secretaries of free-labour societies, and by various parties deeply interested in the cause, 'BUT WHAT CAN WE DO TO HELP IT FORWARD?' An onward course is now open to all such inquirers, and the difficulties of the case are exceedingly lessened.

"The writer of the last letter is George W. Taylor, the agent of the Free-labour Depôt in Philadelphia, a most faithful and upright friend of the slave. It will be observed, he clearly refers to the absence of any insuperable difficulty in procuring American free cotton. This is spoken advisedly, and with a full knowledge of the subject. Truly welcome is good free-cotton from West Africa, or any one of the British colonies; from the West India islands or British India; from Australia or Natal; but this cotton is slow in coming in, and often very difficult to be procured. In the meantime, *there is* available free-cotton, on the small farms, cultivated by free-labour only, which are scattered up and down the slave States of America, and this cotton can be procured through the agency of trustworthy individuals. Let these be supplied with the necessary means, and they will forthwith be prepared for the effort; not for a distant one, but for immediately gathering the desired cotton from the pods of the free-grown cotton plants which are already in bloom.

"Our readers will, by this time, understand that the great remedy for our difficulties is *money*. The warehousemen in Manchester do not feel themselves called upon to withdraw capital from their leading business (that of shipping goods of various descriptions to South America and the East and West Indies), for the purpose of embarking it in the much-less-remunerative branch of free-labour manufactures.

"Our own view would be to increase the little capital at present in their hands to £2000, by raising forty or fifty more of the £25 loans, and to raise, in addition, a guarantee fund of £250, to protect our American

fellow-labourers from loss in sending us their cotton, according to the second proposition of our friend, G. W. Taylor. The latter fund should be deposited in some safe bank, only to be called for when an actual loss can be proved. For ourselves, we feel that we have begged as much as we are warranted in doing; but those of our coadjutors, who are anxious to effect something for the movement, may be assured that they can do nothing more effective than to assist in raising these £25 loans. The interest of those already in the hands of J. F. B. & Co. has been regularly and cheerfully paid, and we feel persuaded that they will have pleasure, at any time, in giving information to subscribers as to how the capital is occupied, and what are their prospects for the future."

* "The capital already in J. F. Browne & Co.'s hands has been raised in loans of £25 each, bearing interest at 4 per cent. In some instances, two of these loans have been kindly advanced by the same individual."

Miscellaneous.

GOING HOME.—Mr. J. B. Thompson, a fugitive from slavery, who was compelled to fly from Philadelphia after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, and who sought a refuge in Canada, has succeeded in procuring the sum of 800 dollars, with which to purchase his freedom. The whole of this sum has been raised since the 1st of March; and the zeal, energy, affection, and talents of Thompson's wife have contributed greatly to the success of her husband's own untiring exertions. Mr. Thompson called on us on his way to Canada, when the human bloodhounds were baying on his track. His good wife informed us, on Friday, the 8th inst., that Mr. Lyman Jones, of Montreal, had negotiated with the manstealer in Virginia who claimed her husband, and who had consented to release all claim on him for 800 dollars; and that as they had the money they were now returning home. The simple story of Mrs. Thompson, commencing with the visit of her husband's "master" to her home in Philadelphia, and ending at the collection of the last 2 dollars 50 cents of the needed sum, was as graphic as a chapter of *Uncle Tom*. Her husband, who is a smart, good-looking, energetic mulatto, left Virginia eight years ago, and settled in Philadelphia, where, at the time of his flight, he had two shaving and hairdressing establishments, besides owning, in his wife's right, a homestead. One morning in September, 1852, the master entered Thompson's house with a familiar, free-and-easy swagger, threw himself into a chair, placed his heels upon the table, and slowly chewing, spitting, and squinting round the ceiling, suddenly brought his eye to bear on Mrs. Thompson, and asked her where her "boss" was? "He is at the shop, Sir." "He'll be along soon, won't he?" "Yes, Sir." "You have things pooty nice here—seem to live pooty well for niggers." "Are you from the south, Sir?" said Mrs. Thompson to her impudent visitor, at the same time her flashing eye, curling

lip, and heaving breast indicated the scorn she could scarcely suppress, in obedience to the fears which had suggested her question. "What makes you think me from the south?" said the bully, with a sneer. "Because northern men know better than to enter people's houses merely for the purpose of insulting them." "Well, I am from the south," replied the master, "and I am come for your old man; and if I had you in Old Virginia I'd give you thirty-nine on your bare back every morning and then rub you down with salt and water, and I bet your tongue would not wag so glib." "But you will never have either me or my husband in Old Virginia." By the address and coolness of Mrs. Thompson her husband was informed of this visitor, and escaped among the Quakers. In a few days she converted what property she could quietly dispose of into money, locked up her house, and, joining her husband, started with him for Canada. Since that period she has accompanied him, with her little daughter, through Vermont and other parts of New England, giving concerts, where they sang the touchingly-plaintive songs of the slaves, and earned in this way the price of Mr. Thompson's freedom. We never saw anything more touching than the joy expressed in the face of Mrs. Thompson, as she recited to us the incidents of her life during the last few months among the generous farmers of Vermont, and dwelt upon the fact that her husband could now go home.—*New York Tribune*.

REVIEWS.

India Reform. Tracts I., II., III., and IV. Saunders and Stanford, 6, Charing Cross.

These pamphlets should be read by every one who desires to gain information on the present state of India; on the necessity of a change in the government of that vast empire; on the importance of such a change with relation to an increased supply of cotton from those parts, and on the utter inadequacy of the new *India Government Bill* to effect that change.

Twelve Years a Slave: the Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Free Citizen of New York, kidnapped in Washington in 1841, and rescued in 1853 from a Cotton Plantation in Louisiana. London: S. Low & Co.

This is one of the most thrilling and interesting narratives we have ever read, and forcibly illustrates the atrocious wickedness of the slave system, and the monstrous evils to which it gives rise. The title sufficiently explains the object of the work, from which we propose to make an extract or two, in a future number. It is a valuable addition to anti-slavery literature.

Life and Escape of W. Wells Brown, from American Slavery. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. C. Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street.

Mr. Brown is favourably known as a lecturer, and his account of himself whilst in slavery, and of his escape from it, are very interesting. His "*Three Years in Europe,*

or Places I have seen, and People I have met," is also a creditable literary performance: considering the circumstances under which it was written, and the author's scanty opportunities of acquiring education.

A Plea for Emigration, or Notes on Canada West. BY MARY A. SHADD, a coloured woman. Detroit.

This is, in appearance, an unpretending pamphlet, and like many other things of homely exterior, has within it much of sterling value. We consider it too important to be dismissed with a summary notice, and propose to refer to it again, at length, as soon as we can conveniently do so. In the meanwhile, we recommend it to the careful perusal of all who are interested in the welfare of the coloured population of Canada.

Five Hundred Thousand Strokes for Freedom. London: W. and F. G. Cash. Wm. Tweedie; and may be had of all Booksellers.

This is the first volume of the Leeds series of anti-slavery tracts, of which the promoter, W. Armistead, Esq., proposes to issue half a million, on various subjects bearing on slavery and the anti-slavery question generally. The present volume contains eighty-two, some of them being illustrated. All of them being good, it is difficult to recommend one in particular. No anti-slavery library can be complete without this volume and those that are to follow it.

A Cloud of Witnesses against Slavery and Oppression: containing the Acts, Opinions, and Sentiments of Individuals and Societies in all Ages; selected from various sources, and for the most part, chronologically arranged. By WILSON ARMISTEAD. London: Wm. Tweedie, 337, Strand; and W. and F. G. Cash, 5, Bishopsgate-street.

This volume is issued with the half million anti-slavery tracts above alluded to, and is well worthy of an honourable place on the anti-slavery bookshelf.

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CONTENTS OF THE FIRST No.

Address—Dangers to the Cotton Interests of England—The Infidelity of the American Church—Is a fusion of British Abolitionists practicable?—The Wolves in Sheep's clothing—The Manchester Guardian and the Fugitive Slave Law—Clerical Teachings on Slavery—Sketches, &c., &c.

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 A MEANS OF RELIEVING** the BRITISH WEST INDIA COLONIES from their PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. By M. JULES LECHEVALIER ST. ANDRÉ. Commissioned by the French Government to visit the said Colonies in 1838 and 1839, and Report upon the first Results of the Emancipation of the Slaves.

London: PELHAM RICHARDSON, 23, Cornhill.

Extract from a Leading Article in the *Times*, 19th April, 1843, reviewing the French Parliamentary Paper, entitled "Report sur les Questions Coloniales," &c.:—

"An agent of the French Government, M. Jules Lechevalier, was sent out, nearly five years ago, to the British West Indies, to observe on the spot the effects of emancipation.

"In addition to the results of his own inquiries, he has been employed, since his return to Europe, in the preparation of a digest of all the bulky evidence on the subject which has been laid before Parliament. This work, which is now in course of publication, will extend to three folio volumes of the largest size, and it will contain the most complete history of the questions relating to the social and commercial welfare of the British colonies which has ever been compiled.

"The evidence of a most industrious and very competent foreign observer is of great value, not only to the reputation of this country abroad, but to ourselves: and M. Lechevalier has executed his important task with the utmost fairness and ability."

Printed by JACOB UNWIN, of No. 8, Grove-place, in the Parish of St. John, Hackney, in the County of Middlesex, at his Printing-Office, 21, Bucklersbury, in the Parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in the City of London; and published by PETER JONES BOLTON, of No. 6, Kennington Terrace, Kennington Lane, in the County of Surrey, at No. 27, New Broad-street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—SATURDAY, OCTOBER, 1, 1853.

London: W. AND F. G. CASH, 5, Bishopsgate Without: CLARKE, BEETON, AND CO., 148, Fleet Street.